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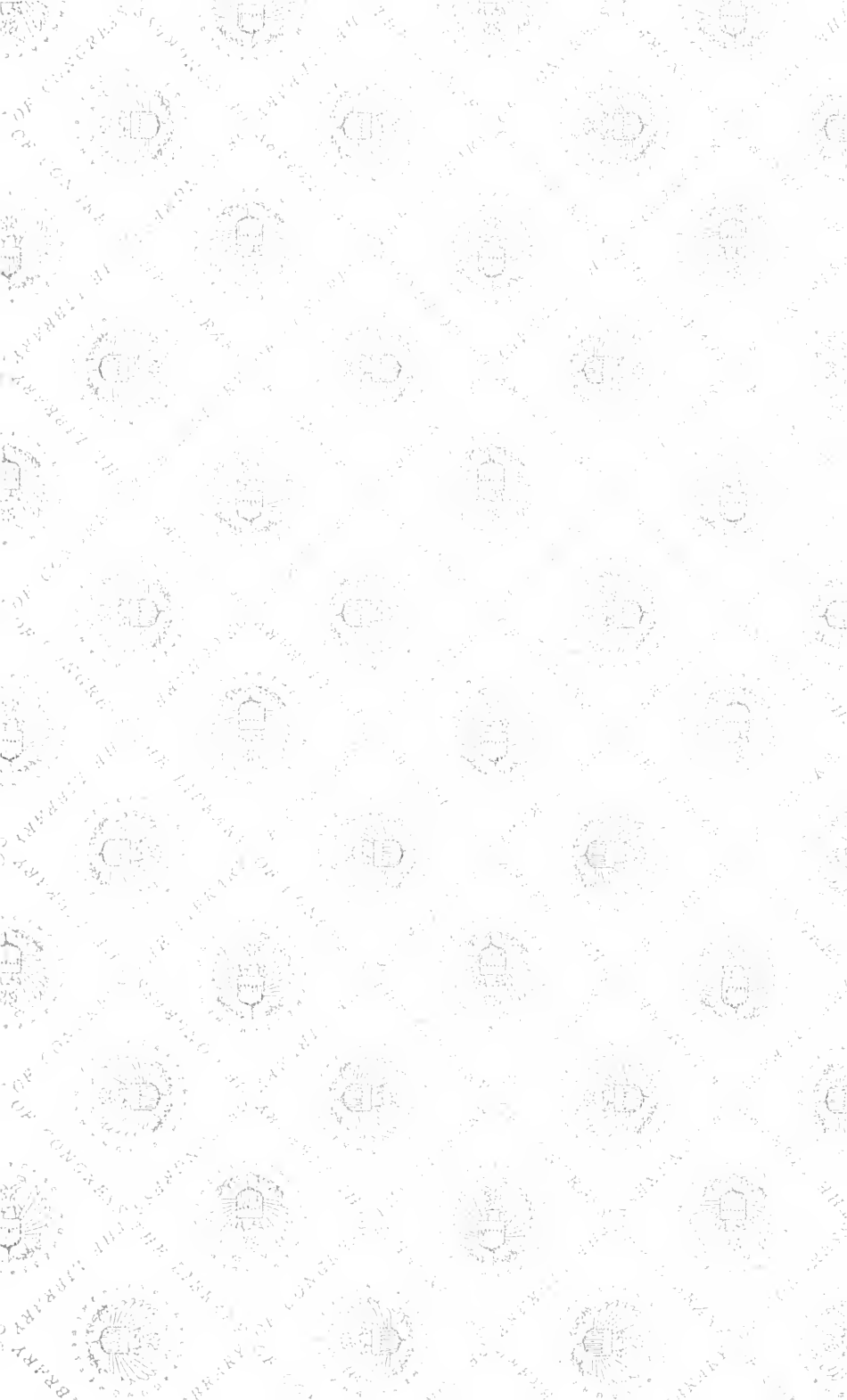
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AN ADDRESS

BEFORE

BY

E. E. DUNBAR.



MDCCCLVIII.

DAVISON & WARD, Printers,
43 Montgomery Street,
Jersey City.

THE following Address was delivered at the request of gentlemen who propose to establish *The Travellers' Club* of the City of New York, and they have to thank Mr. DUNBAR for the zeal and ability he has displayed in behalf of the Club. They feel confident that in publishing it as Paper No. 1, of that Society's publications, they will aid materially in promoting its interest. They would also make their acknowledgments to Messrs. DAVISON & WARD, for the excellence of the typography, as already shown in the proof sheets.

Any communications on the subject of *The Travellers' Club*, may be addressed to E. E. DUNBAR, Esq., or to the undersigned.

W. M. B. HARTLEY,

Secretary,

New York, Dec. 1, 1863.

Box 1323.

AMERICAN PIONEERING

AS

*Connected with the Progress and Destiny of the
United States.*

IT falls to the lot of comparatively few whose ways are cast in the crowded haunts of men, to know practically how civilization begins. This invaluable knowledge is only obtained through great exposure, hardship and suffering. In these days, those of us who leave friends and home in the older settled country, to encounter adventure and tempt fortune in our wild frontier regions, commence the journey in the rapid and smooth rolling steam car; the iron rail we leave for the wagon road; the wagon road runs into the mule path; the mule path finds the Indian trail, and when this is lost, we depend on the track of the wild beast to guide us to the water courses or pools. This point must be reached ere we can comprehend the beginning of civilization.

No subject of the same importance has received so little attention as that of American Pioneering, or, in other words, the Commencement and Growth of Civilization in the United States. In a historical point of view, and as connected with the rise and progress of the American nation, and the advancement of civilization on this continent

continent and its islands, the subject has, in reality, received little or no attention. This is marvellous, when we reflect that just in proportion as the pioneer spirit is developed, civilization progresses.

When, therefore, the great subject of pioneering, in its largest sense, and in all its bearings, is discussed with reference to the progress of our institutions, nationality and general interests, it becomes a theme of paramount importance; and when, in connection, we relate the adventures of the daring, intellectual and enterprising pioneer—he who, from a pure love of adventure and the progress of mankind, goes before to open the way—our subject rises to grandeur. It abounds in thrilling romance, noble sentiments and exalted views.

The Bible tells us, that after God created the man and the woman, he blessed them and said: “*Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth and subdue it.*” This is the great command, the impelling power imposed upon man by Nature, and sanctified by the Divine Idea.

According to the Bible, Adam and Eve were the first pioneers; and since God sent them forth to explore the garden of Eden, nearly the whole earth has been pioneered. To the man truly progressive, either in moral or material things, this entire Universe is an Eden. The garden of Eden is the field of knowledge, though its fruits, like roses, are only gathered among thorns. But he whose soul is fed by the pure and exalted inspirations

rations of Nature, and who bestows those inspirations upon the world, though an inhabitant of earth, toiling perhaps in poverty or disease, already lives in Heaven.

What common, unprogressive mind can comprehend the exalted inner life of a Christ founding a new and higher order of religion; a Columbus discovering and presenting a New World to the Old; a Milton or a Shakspeare recording the sublime inspiration of his soul in books; a Fulton applying the power of steam to navigation; a Franklin drawing the lightning from the clouds; a Humboldt communing with Nature and opening her great and wonderful book for the benefit of his fellow men?

The truly progressive man, the pioneer, in obeying the great command to subdue the earth, is the immediate servant of God. He is a rare man among his fellow men, one above the common herd. His power to lead, and his right to command, must be based on those natural gifts, both mental and physical, from which comes natural royalty. I speak now of those men who, deriving their impulses from the God of Nature, discover new countries, explore unknown regions and give them over to a higher order of civilization. Such to this continent were Columbus, Cortez, Las Casas, Cabot; Magellan, Drake, Cook, John Smith, William Penn; the Huguenots of Carolina, the Pilgrims of Massachusetts, Roger Williams, and many others known to fame in early days.

Later,

Later, from the old Colonial times to the present, our country has had, and still has, its peculiar classes of pioneers. Washington was a pioneer by nature, education and practice. Then there were Daniel Boone and his kind—such as Cooper loved to portray in *La Longue Carabine* and *Leather Stocking*. Captain Zebulon M. Pike, from whom Pike's Peak takes its name, was a distinguished pioneer and explorer. Who that has read the narrative of Lewis and Clarke can ever forget it? That story of explorations in our western wilds appeared over forty years ago, and for twenty years it maintained its hold on the public mind. It was found in the log cabin of the remotest settler in the West, as well as among the gilded volumes of the rich in our sea-board cities. The influence, that single book had in creating a spirit of adventurous pioneering in the United States, was incalculable. I never shall forget the intense interest with which I perused its pages in the days of my boyhood. In dreamy reverie, day and night, my youthful imagination conjured up the wild adventurous scenes of frontier life; and when, in after years, I practically experienced that life, it seemed but the realization of the dreams of other days.

Then came John C. Fremont, the account of whose wonderful explorations across the continent, stimulated anew the pioneer spirit among his own countrymen, and gave him a world-wide celebrity.

Then there was that child of romance and
adventure

adventure, Sutter, who located far up the Sacramento in California, long before the gold was discovered. And the humbler pioneer, James W. Marshall, a mill-wright, and the actual discoverer of the gold, ought to be mentioned in connection with Sutter. Among other western pioneers, there were such as Capt. Bonneville, Kit Carson, Felix Aubrey, Lieut. Ives, Charles D. Poston, Herman Ehrenbergh, A. B. Grey, and the lamented Generals Lander and Stevens. Nicholas Longworth pioneered the way to Cincinnati, Lewis Cass to Michigan, and Stephen Austin to Texas.

And we have a class of pioneers whose way is over the ocean—commercial pioneers. Quite as much interest and importance are attached to the ocean as to the land pioneer. We have our commercial pioneers to all the distant parts of the earth—China, Japan, the islands of the Pacific, the North West Coast and South America.

It is only fifteen years ago that Henry Wolcott, originally from Connecticut, established the first commercial house in Shanghai, China. Collins is now opening to our trade the Amoor river country. William Whitewright, a Massachusetts man, established steam navigation on the Western Coast of South America, John L. Stephens and E. G. Squier have explored and made known to us the riches and the wonders of Central America.

We have among us, at the present time, the Hon. Townsend Harris, who as Commissioner
and

and first resident Minister in Japan, negotiated with so much tact and intelligence our commercial treaty with that country. We have also the Rev. J. C. Fletcher, one of the most progressive men of the age, and whose field of pioneering lies in the magnificent empire of Brazil, respecting which he disseminates so much valuable information.

There was Kane, and now we have the courageous and indomitable Capt. C. F. Hall, who aspires to emulate the great Arctic explorer.

The favor with which the public receives the useful and interesting narratives of our ocean and land pioneers, proves that pioneer enterprise, from which comes the irrepressible spirit of expansion, is an inherent characteristic of the American people.

It will be remembered with what avidity the public seized upon Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast*, which gave an account of the trading voyage of a Boston Hide Drogher on the coast of California twenty years ago. It was the simple story of a trading venture to an unknown country, toward which the eye of the world was beginning to turn, written by a participant in the enterprise, a sailor of intellect and culture. The charm of the narrative was in its simplicity, and its adaptation to commercial pioneering and extension. Mr. Dana may write a hundred books on ordinary topics, but not one of them will have the success of his *Two Years Before the Mast*.

It

It is much to be regretted that we have so little on record worth mentioning, relative to the history of American commercial pioneering—the opening of commerce, and trade, at new and distant points, by individuals or companies. Nothing could be more interesting and instructive than the history of the commencement and growth of civilization, commerce and trade in this great country, such as our ocean and land pioneers, and they alone, can give.

Not many years hence the American pioneer, as we now see and understand him, will be a character of the past; and nothing in history or romance will be preserved and read in the future with more care and interest than that which exists of the pioneer history and romance of the American Nation.

The enterprising pioneer spirit of the American people, and the consequent extension of territory, increase of wealth and augmentation of power, have received little or no attention among ourselves as influencing our progress and destiny. This point has been more carefully studied by our enemies in Europe.

It would appear that from the very commencement, our rulers, in common with the masses, never have had a wise appreciation of the progress and destiny of this nation. I believe there has been no statesmanlike comprehension of the rapidity with which events were progressing in our own country and on this continent. We boast enough of progress all the
world

world knows; but while boasting, we utterly fail to comprehend the logic of those events upon which that progress is based.

There is abundant evidence to sustain my assertion. The older districts of New York are built on cow paths, and to this day we thread our way through the lower part of the city along the trails of our ancestors' cattle, jostling each other off the *trottoirs*, which, in some localities, can no more than accommodate the hucksters' stands by which they are occupied.

The north side of our City Hall was originally finished very roughly, because the citizens said the town never would extend above it; and at a recent date only was the unsightly wall replaced by the one we now see.

The fathers who selected the site of Washington as the Federal Capital, sincerely believed it would be the geographical and commercial, as well as the political, centre of the country.

During the latter ten years of the last century, we were humbly negotiating for the navigation of the Mississippi; and Congress instructed Mr. Carmichael, our Minister to Spain in 1790, to urge the Spanish Government, as inducements to concede this, the considerations, that the United States would be a safer neighbor than Britain; that conquest was repugnant to the genius of our Government; that it was "*not our interest*," I quote the very words of Congress, "*to cross the Mississippi for ages*," that "*it never will be our interest to remain connected with those who do.*"

In

In the beginning of the present century, the Louisiana territory had been ceded by Spain to France, and all that President Jefferson, in the first instance, asked of Napoleon was, the cession of New Orleans, with the Mississippi as the final boundary of our possessions. But at last he was forced to purchase the *whole* of the Louisiana territory. This purchase was consummated during the administration of Jefferson, in 1803. It was the first extension of the original United States territory; and there was a general disposition to allow the transaction to be regarded as constitutional; but Jefferson decidedly opposed this, and nobly declared that it would be better to honestly acknowledge the absolute fact, that in this purchase of territory, expediency had overridden the constitution, rather than dishonestly give that instrument an unlimited scope not to be found in letter or spirit.

Thus we see that sixteen years after the adoption of the Constitution, the very men who framed it, and who were yet on the stage of action, were forced to violate their own fundamental written law, by the purchase of a boundless and unknown territory, only a small district of which it was thought would ever be available to the United States. The old patriots did this we all know, sorely against their will—doubting, fearing and trembling. This is the first instance in which the Government of the United States and destiny came in contact. The Government wisely yielded to destiny.

In 1811 the State of Louisiana, formed out of the recently purchased territory, was admitted into the Union; and in 1819, only sixteen years after the purchase, it was found that the American people had crossed the Mississippi a thousand miles above its mouth, and settled a large district of the newly acquired territory, which, only thirty years before, the United States Congress declared would not be available to the country "for ages," or our interest to hold even, on any terms.

The question of excluding involuntary servitude from this portion of the Louisiana purchase was raised by the demand of Missouri to be admitted into the Union, in 1819. The discussion of this question convulsed the whole country, whose rulers and destiny had again come in contact. A sort of temporary compromise was made with fate, by which involuntary servitude was excluded from all the territory north and west of Missouri, and, of course, permitting involuntary servitude in the territory south of that line. This territory, north and west of Missouri, over which there had been such a contest, both parties believed, as the American Congress believed in 1790—strange as it may appear—would not be available to the United States for ages.

In this struggle over Missouri and the adjoining territory, we have evidence of the same unfortunate want of pioneer, frontier knowledge, the same lamentable lack of appreciation of the logic of events, and of our destined progress,
that

that characterized the earlier days of the Republic.

But the development of a great idea, the solution of a tremendous problem, or, in other words, the course of the Democratic American Nation was in progress. It overleaped all barriers, whether set up by nature or imposed by Government. In 1836, we find the great wave of American emigration had run along the Mexican Gulf coast and reached the Rio Grande. A branch of the American family had followed the lead of Stephen Austin, originally from Connecticut, and settled in Texas, a province of Mexico; and even then were waging a war of independence. Ten years after, Texas, an independent empire in extent and resources, was admitted into the Union. But this was not accomplished without a bitter political contest in the United States—one that shook the Union to its centre. Here again the government of the United States and destiny came in contact. The government yielded to fate; but this yielding caused dire forebodings among some of the most honest and patriotic—it cannot be said—greatest statesmen of the day. They, with those who had gone before, failed to comprehend the significance of those great events that were bearing the country upward and onward with a directness and certainty that should have given confidence and strength, rather than distrust and weakness.

The war with Mexico was the sequence of
the

the annexation of Texas. The acquisition of those vast regions within the limits of New Mexico and California sealed a peace with Mexico in 1848. We will not stop to discuss whether this was a just war or not. At the present time, I will consider it as a link in that fatal chain which was drawing my country onward to glory and power.

I will now recapitulate some of those great events, and refer to the mighty interests already developed, which ought to have enlightened the nation as to the grandeur of that destiny Omnipotence was clearly pointing out to the great American Republic.

But little more than fifty years had elapsed since Congress declared that it would not be the interest of the American people to cross the Mississippi for ages; and, furthermore, that it would never be our interest to unite with those who should advance and occupy that region, when we find five large states, and five large territories, already formed out of those regions west of the Mississippi, and comprehended within the Federal compact.

Still the pioneer spirit winged its way westward, overleaped the Rocky Mountains, descended their western slopes, and reached the Pacific. Pioneers singly, in small companies, and in caravans of immense proportions, crossed the continent, while ship loads circumnavigated it, and went up the great Pacific waters, causing the American flag to wave over a new born civilization

ization on more than a thousand miles of the Pacific shores. Then came that great political event, the most wonderful of all—the golden State of California leaped full grown and armed, like Minerva from the brain of Jupiter, into life, and entered the Union.

A little later and another Western star, Oregon, was added to our galaxy of states; while, farther to the north, still another, Washington territory is rising. And yet there are others whose orbits are already marked out. The territories of Dakotah, Nebraska, Colorado, Idaho, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico and Arizona, may soon be stars in our brilliant political constellation.

Thus we have the grand fact before us, that within the present century the whole of that vast region now contained within the United States boundaries, extending from the frigid north to the tropical south, and from the Mississippi to the Pacific, has been brought within the scope of our intelligence, civilization and political system.

There never was so large a tract of the earth's surface subjugated to such a degree in any thing like this brief period since the annals of time commenced.

But this is not the end. The American pioneer is trailing his way to the south. On the Pacific side, the American emigration has already commenced its resistless flow into the Mexican States of Sonora, Sinaloa and Chihuahua.

hua. They go by sea and by land. The steamers that ply between San Francisco, Guaymas and Mazatlan, are crowded with passengers and freight. Four large hotels have been recently opened in the city of Mazatlan, and they are crowded with Americans. Should the proposed Mexican Emperor, Maximilian, ever reach that part of his proposed domains, he will find a throng of subjects of disagreeably democratic proclivities.

Within the last eighteen months, one hundred and thirty American Mining Companies have been registered according to Mexican law in the State of Sonora alone. Seventy companies have also been registered in the State of Sinaloa. I have seen a list of these companies, and their aggregate capital cannot be less than \$20,000,000. Already \$4,000,000 of this capital has been sent forward, and many of the companies are now working the mines. The last steamer from San Francisco took down a large quantity of machinery, and half a million in gold and exchange for various companies.

But this is not the end. The spirit of American commercial pioneering looks westward still. Already it has crossed the Pacific and penetrated some of the empires of half-civilized Asia. Our merchantmen from California are found in the ports of Japan, China, Siam, Hindostan and the larger islands of the China Sea and Indian Ocean. Ere long, our mail steamers will ply back and forth over the great Pacific, and skirt along the Asiatic shores.

What

What a lesson all this affords the statesman ! Have we statesmen who profit by it ? And it is a lesson the humblest voter in the land should study most attentively in all its parts, that he may exercise his franchise intelligently and with safety to the Republic.

Now let us take a patriotic, whole-souled view of our great country and its mighty interests. Do not let it be a mean, partizan, one-idea squint at any particular interest or locality. Go with me to New England and hear the hum of industry in her thousands of busy manufacturing hives, and see the commerce that lines her shores. We visit the cosmopolitan city of New York, the great commercial and financial emporium of the country ; and here in the concentration of mighty interests we have overwhelming evidence of wealth and power.

We ascend the Alleghanies and survey the surrounding regions of iron and coal. Where the greatest deposits of iron and coal lie contiguous, there the seat of empire will be. We have them in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia ; and to these mineral regions, not only this continent, but the whole world, must eventually be tributary.

Leave the Alleghanies, pass on to the West and glance over that immense stretch of country which, with its prairies, hills and valleys, extends from the great lakes on the North to the Rio Grande on the South. Here we have the longest, broadest and most valuable agricultural district on the face of the earth.

Ascend

Ascend the Rocky Mountains, look down their eastern slopes, and west to the Pacific. We see vast mineral fields, greater in extent, and yielding more abundantly of the precious metals than any other part of the globe. And yet we do not begin to comprehend the extent and value of those mineral fields, though they are now yielding \$100,000,000 per annum. I believe some, who now hear me, will live to see our yield of precious metals \$1,000,000,000 per annum! Fifteen years ago all that region was a dreary waste, not yielding one cent! And then we have increasing, commercial and agricultural interests on the Pacific, which, in a few years, will exceed the calculations of the most sanguine.

These are sublime contemplations. I wish they could have their just measure of appreciation in the arena of American politics.

We have now the grand fact before us, that vast regions have been peopled, and immense interests opened to our enterprise. Let us accord to the pioneer his proper meed of acknowledgment. There has been a pioneer to each particular district of country, and every interest—one whom the masses have followed.

“’Tis in the advance of individual minds
That the slow crowd should ground their expectation
Eventually to follow—as the sea
Waits ages in its bed, ’till some one wave
Out of the multitude aspires, extends
The empire of the whole, some feet perhaps,
Over the strip of sand which could confine
Its fellows so long time; thenceforth the rest,
Even to the meanest, hurry in at once,
And so much is clear gained.”

All

All this vast moral and material development has been accomplished by a people who, though composed in some degree of different nationalities, must be considered as one race. The people of the United States have made all their progress under one Constitution, one Flag; and they have been actuated, impelled by one all-pervading, all-powerful idea, to wit, "that on the basis of equality, they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

It is not for me to discuss the point whether the government of the United States has been and is administered entirely in conformity with this simple, though great and glorious idea. It is sufficient for my purpose to advert to the fact that this idea of equality in the possession of certain inalienable rights is supposed to underlie our government, our institutions and our society; and to state that the effect of this idea in advancing the country has far exceeded the wildest dreams of those who adopted it as their political platform, when they launched the ship of state in times that tried men's souls. And now after so much has been accomplished on this idea, at this, the grandest period of our existence, and while the world was beginning to look upon the Colossal Republic with awe and wonder, we have again come in contact with our great and good destiny. This time the shock is terrible. It shakes the whole earth. Who can tell whether

our good or evil genius will prevail ! I may not be able to say how our nationality is to be preserved intact, but I still have faith that our country will finally bow to the glorious destiny which Omnipotence has made manifest.

Before our troubles are over, we shall probably discover that we are not spiritually and intellectually up to the mark—that the moral development of the nation does not keep pace with its material development. We may find that our religion and politics are based too much on purely selfish instincts that attach to mere local and personal interests, so completely absorbing as to seriously impair the quality of our patriotism.

We will also learn that in no section of the country lies the interest that outweighs the value of Union, the necessity of an undivided nationality; see how supremely blessed we are in the order by which nature has arranged our magnificent interests. How compact ! All on a grand scale and in one great territory, each blending with the other in such beautiful and perfect harmony as to cause each to depend on the other for development. With us there can be no such thing as the enjoyment of those inalienable rights, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, unless our nationality follows our material interests. We must live a homogeneous nation and in one political Union. The fanatical, reckless, unthinking mob of which so large a part of the present generation is composed, may pass away
before

before order is thoroughly restored; but the imperative necessity of harmonizing the great material interests of the country will, I believe, eventually bring it back to its original destiny. We have tasted of progress based on a higher order of materialism, so to speak, than that of the ancients, and found it good. If in our folly we come to a stand or retrogress, the next generation will take up the tradition of the past and act upon it.

So far as our country is concerned, all the intelligence of the age tends to unity. The influence of industry, commerce and science imposes unity. The Atlantic speaks to the Pacific through the lightning's flash, and the response comes back *ahead of time*. With pen of wire and ink of fire we converse with the most distant parts of our broad domain. Time and space are annihilated. It is possible that in our day the steam car will carry us from New York to San Francisco in six days. It is possible that in our day the traveler in New York wishing to visit Hindostan, or perhaps Palestine, and having reference to speed and comfort, will take his course west across this continent and the Pacific, instead of the old route east across the Atlantic.

Now all this is marvelous, yet every thing can be readily accounted for in the regular order of nature. No miracles have been performed. It requires no very ingenious argument to make it appear that our progress is due, in some degree to accident, a series of blundering successes, so to speak.

ſpeak. While this argument cannot be conceded in a general ſenſe, its truth muſt be acknowledged ſo far as our government *per ſe* is concerned. The federal compact never contemplated the expansion that has actually taken place under it or outſide of it. The framers of that compact held that the acquisition of territory by conqueſt was repugnant to the genius of our government. They alſo acted on the theory that the kind and degree of expansion or progreſs we now ſee, was equally repugnant to the genius of our institutions.

It would appear, therefore, that ſuch progreſs, as we have made, ſhould not be attributed to the practical working of our government to the extent that is generally conceded. If I may be allowed to refer to my own perſonal experience of ten years of frontier life, I will ſay that I found the federal government, where it exerciſed direct control, the greateſt obſtacle to progreſs. This ſtatement may appear ſomewhat remarkable or erroneous. Nevertheless, nothing is more ſuſceptible of proof. The whole body of pioneers and ſettlers in our weſtern frontier regions—except the government contractors—will ſuſtain me in the aſſertion.

In all thoſe unorganized regions, occupied and controlled by the government through its military ſtations, Indian agencies, &c., the military and Indian agencies have one intereſt, and the *bona fide* ſettler another. I had four years' experience in Arizona and New Mexico, and during
this

this period the settlers were obliged to wage a constant warfare for bare existence, not only against the wild Indians, but against the despotism and avarice of the United States Government as represented by its agents, military and civil. But it was of no use. I escaped out of Arizona, a territory teeming with the precious and other metals, in the spring of 1858, and came to Washington, believing, in my verdancy, that I should be able to excite some interest there for that most important, but suffering and neglected frontier.

During the early part of my sojourn in the National Capital, I encountered a Member of Congress from one of the Eastern States. He was puffing a cigar and toasting his feet before a good fire in one of the public rooms at Willard's Hotel. I approached this Member of Congress in my most bland and winning manner, and after begging his pardon for interrupting what appeared to be a delightful reverie, I recounted to him in thrilling tones and impressive manner, the trials, difficulties and dangers we were encountering, in opening the new territory to civilization. The Member of Congress quietly heard what I had to say, and then coolly turning to me, inquired: "What the devil did you go to such a God-forsaken country for?"

This incident tells the whole story of my Washington experience, in attempting to excite an interest on behalf of Arizona. I spent several weeks in the capital, and mingled freely
among

among the officials from the highest to the lowest, but not the first sign of common intelligence on the subject of our frontier interests generally did I encounter; neither did I receive the slightest encouragement, and Arizona was abandoned to its fate. The territory soon relapsed into barbarism. In 1861, having been in possession of the United States and under the control of the military and Indian agencies five years, all the white inhabitants had been killed or driven off by the wild Apaches. But territorial officers, capable and efficient men I believe, have recently gone out, and the emigration that is now flowing into Arizona is of a strength and character that will wrest it from the Federal agencies, control or sweep away the wild Indians, and bring this valuable frontier district within the pale of civilization.

The territory of New Mexico has been under the direct control of the United States Government fifteen years, and it is in a worse condition now than it was when we received it from Mexico.

With here and there an exception, the commanding officers, quartermasters, contractors, and sutlers, form close corporations, and wielding despotic power, monopolize the best of every thing, and grind the *bona fide* settler into the dust. Then come the wild Indians, who plunder the settlers of what little is left to them. The Indian agents supply the murdering, plundering savages with rations, arms and ammunition, or the means
to

to obtain them, and these Indians, thus provided, fall out to distant points, murder the settlers, drive off their stock, and return to the neighborhood of those same agencies, and there dispose of their ill-gotten booty. Thus between the military and Indian agencies, and the savages, the poor emigrant stands but little chance for life or property.

I was no amateur pioneer. I entered the work professionally, and considered that my lot was cast in those frontier regions where, for ten years, I had run the gauntlet to see, at last, an entire community slaughtered around me, and learn that I exposed myself, and toiled to fill the pockets of a few miserable, soulless speculators in human blood, some of whom I regret to say, represented a government that took no heed of its citizens, who were paving its way to empire with their bones.

In those of our frontier districts where the wild Indians are less numerous or less savage than they are on the Rocky Mountain slopes, or where the whites in great numbers rush in, occupy the land, and wrest it from the Federal agencies, as in California, there is less of exposure, suffering and bloodshed. But the evils to which I have alluded, characterize in a greater or less degree, all progress in our new territory. O, you who have never been beyond the pale of civilization; you who have experienced nought but ease and comfort within the limits of well settled, refined society, how little you comprehend the frightful suffering.

suffering, the horrid mass of human flesh and bones through which our car of Empire crushes and crashes onward toward the setting sun.

Some may argue that such are the inevitable results of efforts to reclaim wild and barbarous regions to civilization. To a certain extent this is true, but I contend most decidedly that by far the greatest amount of life and property lost in the process of civilizing our frontier regions, is a wholly unnecessary sacrifice to the cruel system and pernicious practices of the United States government agencies.

In such circumstances as these, it admits of question whether the progress of the country, in its first stage at least, is not retarded rather than accelerated by the government. Such progress as we have made, must, I believe, be attributed in the main, to that unequalled and happy combination of immense resources, the development of which is highly favored by the great advantages of geological construction, geographical position and the most propitious variety of climate. All these material accessories added to the great idea of holding certain inalienable rights based on equality, with the *reputation* of having the freest and best government on earth, have enticed a great amount of industry, talent and capital from Europe, and provoked a restless spirit of enterprise all over the country.

My remarks on the unfortunate relations that exist between the general government and pioneer interests are not agreeable to my taste or feelings;

feelings; but they could not well be omitted. I deem them quite important and entirely pertinent to my subject. I trust it will be understood that I discuss the point without reference to the political views or prejudices of any party. The great trouble, in fact, appears to me to be, that the entire subject is ignored by all the political parties of the country, either from a total ignorance of the facts, or utter inability to grasp them. My sole desire is to give the people information, that they may instruct the politicians.

I will now touch upon another important branch of my subject—one that relates directly to our pioneer enterprise and general progress. I refer to Spanish America, and our relations with that part of the continent. Here, again, I believe we have failed to comprehend our interests and our destiny. It is true that an idea of “manifest destiny” having more or less to do with the future of Spanish America, has obtained a lodgment in the American mind. Of late years we have heard much about the “manifest destiny” of the American nation; but so far as I can perceive, this idea is exceedingly vague, having no intelligent or logical basis, nor any well defined policy or system by which it is to be wrought out.

In our relations with Spanish America, we have practically labored against the happy fulfillment of the manifest destiny idea.

I will give a brief summary of facts bearing directly on this point:—

Our

Our relations with the island of Cuba, probably from its geographical position, and other favorable circumstances, are more extensive and profitable than with any other locality in Spanish America.

From 1820 to 1850, a period of thirty years, our commercial exchanges with Cuba ranged from ten to fifteen millions only per annum.

In 1860, our commercial exchange with that island amounted to \$46,428,434, or \$33 25 *per capita*, giving 1,396,530 as the population.

What is the cause of this sudden and immense trade between the United States and Cuba? I reply, the *steam ship*! In 1850, lines of American steamers commenced plying between New York, Charleston, New Orleans and Havana, and in 1860 our commercial exchanges with the last named port had augmented to over \$46,000,000, which is equal to one-half the entire foreign trade of the island, and double the total amount of our trade with all the other West India islands.

Cuba lay in our ocean highway to New Orleans and Aspinwall. Communication by steam became a necessity, and the island has been practically, so far as its commercial interests and relations were concerned, within the American Union, since 1850 and up to the commencement of our civil disturbances in 1860. This, I believe, was simply a collateral result of private enterprise, growing out of increased trade with New Orleans, and the commencement of intercourse with California. In

In the relations that grew up between the United States and Cuba during the decade mentioned, I see the idea of manifest destiny logically and happily developed.

With Cuba, everything favorable or fortunate in our Spanish American relations ends. Take Mexico for instance. When Mexico became an independent state in 1821, our trade with her commenced, and in the course of ten years it had reached \$15,000,000 per annum. But since 1830 the trade has been irregular, and the tendency downward, so that in 1860, the commercial exchanges between Mexico and the United States, that is, our imports from and exports to that country, had fallen to \$5,905,103, and this, notwithstanding Mexico joins our southern border, and the trade of the whole Mexican Pacific coast had been open to California for ten years.

Taking the inhabitants of Mexico at 7,000,000, the trade of that country *per capita* with the United States in 1860, was 84 cents. If Mexico had the same annual *per capita* trade with the United States that Cuba has, it would amount to \$228,750,000 per annum.

There are in that Mexican domain, several Californias for us, simply through the instrumentality of treaties of amity and commerce, a means of progress our rulers appear to know very little about. The perversity with which our people and government have acted with regard to our interests in Mexico, cannot be explained by any of the known laws by which human affairs are supposed

supposed to be influenced or regulated. It seems as though we had knowingly and deliberately aided in bringing about the dire misfortune of foreign intervention in Mexico, the real and greater purpose of which is ultimately intervention in the United States.

My remarks respecting our relations with Mexico, are, in the main, applicable to all Spanish America.

In 1860, the commercial exchanges of Spanish America with all the world were, in round numbers, \$525,000,000, of which \$115,000,000 only were with the United States. Of this latter amount \$65,000,000 were with Cuba and the other West Indian islands, leaving to the United States but \$50,000,000, or one-tenth of the Spanish American trade on the main land—the total of which was \$460,000,000, with all countries. And yet we have all those advantages over other countries that should give us the command of the greater portion of that trade.

The total population of the continental part of Spanish America is 33,000,000, and our trade with that population amounts to but \$50,000,000 per annum, or \$1.52 *per capita*. What an unfortunate exhibit. If our trade with all Spanish America averaged the same *per capita* as it does with Cuba, it would amount to \$1,163,750,000 per annum! These are stupendous numerals. It is within the bounds of reason to say that by an intelligent culture of commercial intercourse with Spanish America, our trade with that portion

tion of the continent and its islands would, within a few years, reach \$500,000,000 per annum. What a magnificent field for the pioneer enterprise of this country!

But where does the greater part of the Spanish American trade go? To Europe—principally to England. The English mail steamers completely encircle Spanish America, touching at upwards of seventy different ports on the continent and islands.

Having given the small commercial results of our intercourse with Spanish America, I will bring forward several other points as evidence of how we have almost entirely ignored the existence of that part of our continent as any thing worthy of commercial or social culture.

One half this continent is occupied by Spanish America, and one half the people inhabiting this continent speak the Spanish language. And yet what child, what statesman in this country is reared in view of these great facts? Is the study of the grand old Spanish language or the history of Spanish America common among us? Does a knowledge of the races, language, laws, politics, religion and customs that prevail in Spanish America constitute any part of the education of our public men—those whom we honor with the highest positions and dignify with the appellation of statesmen? Let the facts answer. If you place your child in the best schools or academies of the country with the desire to give him a superior education, or lay the foundation for
it,

it, not one in fifty affords the advantage of instruction in the Spanish language; and if by chance you are able to arrange for a teacher in this language, it is done with so much difficulty and extra expense as to be available only to the wealthy. As to any correct history of Spanish America for reading or study, it is not to be found in the literature of our country, nor in any other country, I believe, if truth and fairness are made the standard.

Go to Washington among the high officials, the leading men, the politicians of the day, and how many do you find who are able to form an intelligent opinion of any event that occurs in Spanish America? I have heard that it has been remarked by the foreign diplomatic corps in Washington, that not one of the present Administration can converse intelligently with the respective Spanish American Ministers accredited to this government, relative to the countries they represent, even in the English language, saying nothing of the Spanish. This should be a deep national mortification.

Furthermore, it is a deplorable fact that the government has rarely sent a representative to the Spanish American countries who had any knowledge of the people or their language. At the present time, if I am correctly informed, we have not a single ambassador in Spanish America, and scarcely a consul who knows any thing of the Spanish language, or who by education or experience is calculated to promote our interests

ests in that portion of the continent, no matter how zealous and faithful he may be in his efforts to perform his duty.

These are all very grave facts, and they clearly set forth in my mind—and I hope they do to that of others—how little our people and government comprehend their great interest in the direction of the India south of us. They afford indubitable evidence of how entirely neglectful we have been of sound and healthy progress in a natural and available direction. And what is the consequence? A very serious loss to our national interests, and calamitous complications in our foreign and domestic policy.

Spanish America is an enigma to the whole world. To my mind the solution of this enigma is exceedingly simple. We have only to appreciate the great fact which stands so boldly out in modern history, that from its discovery to the present hour, this continent has been looked upon by Europe as a pure commercial speculation in the development of which, the common principles of humanity and christianity were not to have, and consequently have not had lot or part.

What may be termed commercial slavery never was known until the commercial nations of Europe fastened it upon this continent as a pure speculation, bereft of all justice and humanity. The soil of those nations at home must be free, but the soil of their possessions in the New World must be slave. What a record of shame the commercial

mercial nations of Europe exhibit on this point ! While they were declaring that the moment a slave fet foot on the soil of the respective mother countries he became free, they were absolutely encouraging and sustaining the African slave trade with their armies and navies, and enforcing by arms and legislation, the institution of slavery over this continent and its islands, from pole to pole and from ocean to ocean.

In 1772, Lord Mansfield ruled in the famous case of the slave Somerset, that no law of England recognized chattel slavery on English soil, and that a negro slave from any one of the British Colonies became free from the moment he arrived at a British port. At this very time the American Colonies were urgently protesting to the mother country against the importation of negro slaves within their limits. In 1775, three years after the decision of Lord Mansfield, and just before our war of revolution broke out, the British government abruptly and sternly gave a quietus to these protests of the colonies in the following words: "*We cannot allow the colonies to check or discourage in any degree a traffic so beneficial to the nation.*"

This remarkable exhibition of the unfeeling spirit of gain on the part of the English government tells the whole story. It lays bare the animus by which commercial Europe held the New World in its grasp. And it is the same now as it was then. There has been no change.

Our revolutionary war and the Spanish American

rican war of independence were the natural upheavings of people to relieve themselves from an intolerable system of oppression, inflicted upon them by the parent nations of Europe. The United States met with a great and constantly increasing degree of success, until all Europe began to bow to the progress and power of the great republic as to the decree of fate, and to hold the American nation in some sort of humane and Christian respect. *Then our civil war commenced.*

The Spanish American countries, on the other hand, succeeded in throwing off the Spanish yoke only to relapse so completely into the clutches of commercial Europe, as to render their condition since they became republics, but little if any better than it was when they were enslaved to Spain.

If you would arrive at a correct understanding of the Spanish American republics, you will find European lust and avarice the main cause of the chronic evils by which they are afflicted. I contend that public opinion respecting these republics is wrong. The Spanish American people, if I understand them aright, have capacities and aspirations for a far higher order of existence than they now enjoy, and if they could but disenthral themselves from the cruel bonds, in which they are so tightly held by commercial Europe, they would rise rapidly in the scale of nations.

I could not refrain from advancing my view of this matter, it has so fixed a lodgment in my
mind

mind, and bears so directly on our interests and progress, especially in the Spanish American portion of the continent.

Furthermore, I cannot leave the point without referring you to the promptitude with which the leading maritime nations of Europe adopted the course they thought would regain to them the inhuman grasp in which they originally held this entire continent, so soon as it became evident that the only Power thereon they had ever respected, was involved in serious civil strife. I consider it a piece of sublime simplicity on the part of the politicians both North and South to have believed those nations ever would, or ever will, pursue any other course.

In my remarks, I have endeavored to give some idea of our true greatness and of our real deficiencies; and in the attempt, I have doubtless both flattered and mortified the national vanity. While I maintain that we have cause for pride, I believe we have cause for shame. And while agreeing that we must stand up before the world in all the conscious pride and dignity of a nation that claims to be in the van of freedom and progress—yes, and, if need be, defy the world in arms in maintaining that proud position,—I contend that we should put on the becoming garb of modesty which signifies we have yet much to learn.

Every age is given to the idea that it cannot be excelled. Every race holds itself as the superior. Every people considers its religion the only

only true religion on earth; and every society, from that which furrounds the greatest potentate, to that which grovels in the hut of the Hottentot, believes the world revolves around it.

When in Arizona in 1855, as the Superintendent of a San Francisco copper mining company, I opened and worked the Mina del Ajo, located in the desert, furrounded by stupendous mountains, and forty miles from living water. We were supplied with that article from natural and artificial tanks in the rocks, the rain filling them once a year.

I had as laborers about one hundred Mexican peons, most of them pure Indians, the relics of Jesuit Christianization, very good laborers, and belonging to the several Sonora tribes. The labor of a certain week had produced a large amount of very rich ore, and on the Sunday morning following, I happened to pass near a number of the peons resting from their work, I overheard their conversation which turned on the richness of a favorite lead they had named San Eduardo, in honor of the Superintendent, and yet, a pure Papago Indian, known as Boca Prieta, or Black Mouth, feelingly exclaimed: "*Ah, que lastima este rica mina no pertenezca a nosotros los Christianos!*" "What a pity this rich mine does not belong to us Christians!" There, in that far off, and as my friend the Member of Congress called it, "God-forsaken country," this Indian who deigned to wear nothing more than a wisp of cotton cloth around his waist,

wait, who did not know the letter A, and could not count beyond the number 10, believed himself and his surroundings of the most advanced and Christian order.

We as a people hold in the upper strata of our mind, that we are the most advanced nation in the world—that the degree of perfection we have reached in our system of religion and government and in science, can scarcely be excelled.

I believe the greatest discoveries in religion, government and science are yet *in futuro*. The presence of man is but just beginning to be felt in the moral and material world, and the brain fairly aches even in its faint efforts to contemplate what the subjugation of the earth demands from the future.

I have remarked in a general manner on those great interests which provoke the spirit of American pioneer enterprise, and I have referred to the degree of progress made in the development of those interests. I have expressed my belief that the people and the government of the United States had, in other days, no adequate conception of the great future that was before them. And such remarks as I have made—the result of careful observation and study—are made in the full conviction that the nation at large has, at the present time, no better comprehension of its great interests, no more intelligent appreciation of the grandeur of its destiny—secured only by the happy working of the great idea of holding certain inalienable rights based on equality

ity—than it had in the early days of the Republic when there was no experience of the past to throw light upon the future.

I will venture to intimate that the American nation has been carelessly drifting on, allowing politicians to legislate too much and in the wrong direction.

As a nation inspired by the great idea of liberty and equality, we have made great progress; but it is well to inquire whether we have not, at the same time, scattered in our path the seeds of evil that grow with our growth and strengthen with our strength. In evidence of this, I point to the present condition of the country. Desolation and want reign in one section, luxury and extravagance in the other. Corruption stalks abroad at noon-day, the war-fiend holds his carnival throughout the land, and our national existence is threatened.

I have expressed my firm faith in the ultimate welfare of the country. But this result may only come through years of disorder and bloodshed. If the rebellion should be put down and the war should cease at once, the new issues that have sprung up may be more difficult to overcome than the rebellion itself.

Chateaubriand says, "God rises behind men." The seen vanishes and the unseen appears. Revolutions end in what those, who inaugurate them, least expect. The men who put in motion the mighty revolution that is now raging around us, the excuse and the purpose, will probably all pass

pass away and be forgotten, ere the final results of the movement are reached.

I consider it, therefore, the sacred duty of every true-hearted American to do that which lies within him to ameliorate the unhappy condition of his country, that it may come forth from the fiery furnace seven times purified, a burning and shining light to all the world.

Actuated by such feelings, in the main, I believe, a number of gentlemen from various parts of the country—distinguished travelers and pioneers, progressive men—have started the project of organizing an association in this city under the title of the Travelers' Club.

This association is to have the usual social attractions, and be conducted on the same high principles as our best clubs. But the addition of a department where the highest order of intelligence, and the most valuable information will be aggregated and put in form for public use, will give to the proposed Travelers' Club a far higher mission than is usually accorded to the ordinary social and literary clubs of the day.

It is estimated that 10,000 pioneers, explorers and travelers—active, progressive men—from our frontier regions, Spanish America, and other foreign countries visit this city annually, and who could be introduced to the rooms of the Travelers' Club with mutual advantage. The value of the information these visitors possess in the aggregate, is incalculable; and this information,

tion, absolutely indispensable for the safe guidance of the nation, I contend, does not constitute, in any effectual degree, an element of knowledge among the people. The politicians of the day positively refuse to receive it, regarding it as something with which they have nothing to do. It is not to be found in books, the press cannot obtain it, consequently that which is of so much vital importance to the nation is lost.

Any intelligent mind will readily comprehend what a powerful influence for good the gathering together of this class of progressive men in social and intellectual intercourse in this city, must have. Properly managed it will become a power in the land. Such would be the concentration of progressive intellect and information as to ensure the happiest influence on the private and public affairs of the nation. There is an aching void—if I may be allowed the expression—for just such an institution. All political parties, all religious creeds will be invited to participate; but all partizanship in the one and sectarianism in the other, must yield to the strict cosmopolitan and conservative character of the association.

For many years associations, partaking somewhat of the character of the one proposed, have been established in the larger capitals of Europe, and there they take the lead among the social and literary clubs. There may be a greater number of what are called traveled literary gentlemen, who yearly visit London and Paris, than can
be

be got together in this city; but for the concentration of those restless, indomitable, intellectual, progressive men who are moving the world onward, and of that peculiar kind of quick, unwritten information that guides the progress of humanity, I do not believe any city on the globe can excel the city of New York, the great heart of our own great empire and the commercial and financial center of the New World.

The promise of success in the permanent organization of the Travelers' Club on a basis worthy of the city of New York, is very flattering. It is surprising what a powerful class of men and interests the idea has aroused. The indications are that the membership, not only of residents in this city, but of strangers from various localities in our own country and abroad, especially Spanish America, will be very large. There are also many assurances of valuable historical contributions relating to the rise and progress of civilization in the New World; of books, maps, &c., and desirable specimens for the cabinet. Like all other projects of this nature, however, much perseverance and exertion will be required before complete success is attained.

The founders of the project are, I believe, actuated by motives dictated by patriotism, liberality and intellectual taste. No one of them will look for or receive any emolument. The sole desire appears to be to establish an institution so urgently demanded by the interests of
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the country—an institution that will soften the prejudices of race, allay sectional feeling, cultivate the social qualities, and raise the standard of intelligence among the people. Such objects are truly noble.

The man of business and science, the statesman and philosopher, the divine and philanthropist, can come to our stores of knowledge, we trust, and learn what magnificent interests we possess, and what a glorious country we have to save.



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